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Sullivan, George.

An oration pronounced
on the fourth of July 1816
before the inhabitants of the
town of Boston...





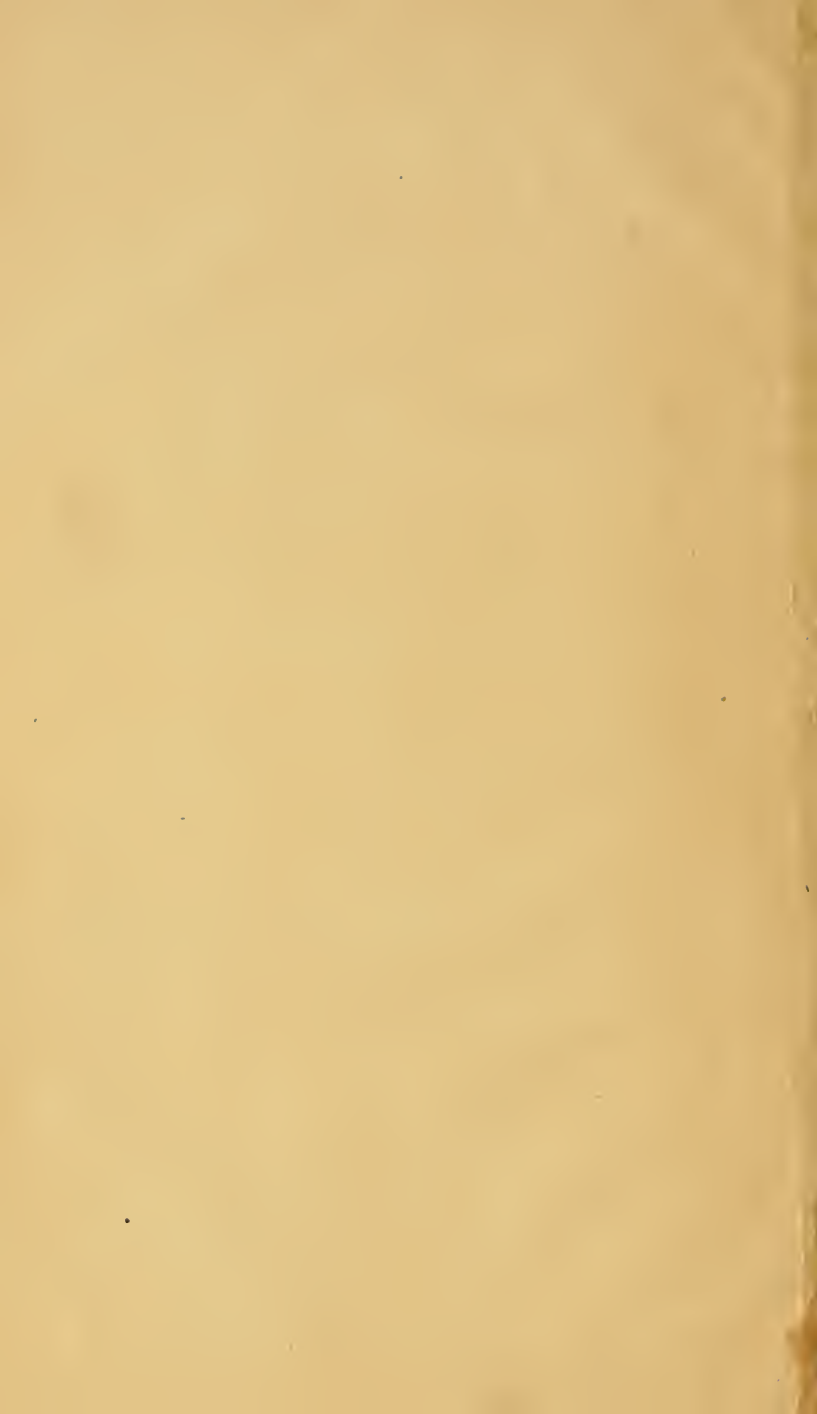
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1816 S







11211
AN

ORATION.

PRONOUNCED,

ON THE

FOURTH JULY, 1816,

BEFORE THE INHABITANTS OF THE TOWN OF BOSTON,

AT THE REQUEST OF THE SELECTMEN

.....
BY GEORGE SULLIVAN. 11211
.....

PRINTED BY C. STEBBINS.

1816.

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VOTE OF THE TOWN.

AT a meeting of the freeholders and other inhabitants of the town of BOSTON, duly qualified and legally warned, in publick town-meeting, assembled at the Old South Church, the 4th day of July, A. D. 1816.

VOTED, That the Selectmen be, and hereby are appointed, a committee to wait on GEORGE SULLIVAN, Esq. in the name of the town, and thank him for the elegant and spirited oration, this day delivered by him at the request of the town, upon the anniversary of American Independence, in which were considered the feelings, manners, and principles, which produced the great national event ; and to request of him a copy for the press.

Attest,

THOMAS CLARK, Town Clerk.

ORATION.

THE return of a period which has given birth to interesting objects, reminds us how indispensable they are to our happiness. We live surrounded and protected by the highest political blessings : enjoying a security in our persons and property, with a certainty of the duration of it ; which leaves us nothing to fear, and almost nothing to desire. Hence a deep insensibility to the value of our extraordinary privileges habitually pervades the community. But the return of this anniversary awakens, in the wise and the grateful, a consciousness of their rich possessions : Americans on this day contrast with pride their nation's freedom, honour and security : New-England's sons and daughters rise in prayer and praise to that goodness and mercy which preserved their fathers : Bostonians with gratitude review the feelings, principles and manners of their ancestors, which produced and transmitted the freedom of their country.

Survey the happy condition that distinguishes you above every other people. On the first institution of your national government, some alarming discrepancies of opinion on questions of principle did indeed exist. It was to be expected in an experiment upon new materials,

whose laws of attraction and combination were as yet unknown, that men profoundly skilled in the results of other combinations might differ in their theories of this. Happy indeed has been the result of his bold and sublime experiment! Honest difference of opinion is candidly allowed, and the tranquillity which has succeeded to an alarming war, brings you the assurance that your constitutions are competent to the exigencies of your country. Compare them with the governments of other nations. Where will you find laws operating like ours with equal pressure on every branch of administration as on the people? where will you find power so stripped of immunity and prerogative? where the interest of government so perfectly coincident with the welfare of the people, that if justice even were discarded from the breast of legislative and executive power, interest alone would give solidity to a wise administration. In these respects no equal has ever existed. In the republics of Greece, either the people were the wanton tyrants over government, or the government was a factious tyranny over the people. For a moment Rome seems to present a resemblance in the annual election of her consuls. It is to this the learned Montesquieu ascribes her glory and her triumphs. But her glory was purchased by ambition, at an expence of millions of citizens, and her triumphs were so laden with the spoils of conquest, that eventually they shook the foundations of the republic. The resemblance was only in form. The tendency of that government was to increase its power by the slavery of the people.

It was reserved for modern times, when the experience of ages had developed the principles of the social

compact, and the progress of mind had subdued the sceptre of power, to establish by controlling forms of government the rights and interests of men. Legislation, as a science, progressively improving with the melioration of society, first appeared in the land of your ancestors. There the perfect and commanding form of jurisprudence was first revealed to mortal eyes. The wise and valiant, from whom your fathers sprung, reared to her, as to a divinity, a vast and splendid temple, whose foundations were lain upon the wisdom of the antients, whose columns were modelled by the experience of nations, and sustain a firm and massive canopy, that seems to defy the elements of convulsion, and the decay of empires. It was the temple of Justice; the steady lustre of her lamp has cast its instructive light upon our shores; and the wisdom, the genius and eloquence of many illustrious judges and advocates of our own time, whose lips are closed in death, have bequeathed us the means of founding an asylum, broad as our country, for the refuge of justice; should the destiny of nations consign England, like Carthage, to the silence of ruins.

The stability of her government, however, has been tried: conquest or revolution has, within the last century, overturned every nation in Europe, save only the kingdom of Great-Britain. The summary of her history discloses the cause of her security and of yours to be the same. While in some nations, as they rose from the thralldom of feudality, the nobles conspired with the sovereign against the people, the nobles in England combined with the subject against the monarch, and by gradual reduction of the power of the crown, raised

the spirit of liberty among the people. Preeminently favoured among European nations, with this only pure fountain of legislation and justice, she has been the admiration of all. Ages had been consumed in the structure of her government; and the project of establishing in this country, at once, a constitution of equal efficiency was ridiculed there as chimerical—an utopian bubble, that might glitter for a while in the sunbeam, but would surely burst on contact with the slightest obstacle.

Our fathers had profited of their opportunities too well not to disappoint such partial expectations. They had mastered the political wisdom of the age. And have they not shewn that, if we have reason to rejoice in our descent, England has scarcely less to be proud of her descendants? Security at home, power and respectability abroad, are to a certain extent necessarily incident to every vigorous government. But it is peculiar to governments, whose principle of action is chiefly the interest of the people, that the security of person and property at home is not sacrificed in obtaining power and respectability abroad. This principle of action, in the government of England, is commingled with a desire of honour, too often found repugnant to the real interests of the subject. Ambition, influenced by turns with ardent desire of personal distinction, and a selfish love of gain, nourished from the throne as the fountain of honour, is there the open approved incitement to greatness. With us such ambition is odious, and in New-England forever defeats its purpose. It may, and has acquired wealth and power, but never honourable fame. The prayers and the respect of the good and the wise do not follow it in retirement, nor

do these embalm with affection its lifeless remains. Men, in every country, under every government, are allured to publick life, by the charms of distinction. Ambition forever renders homage to the power conferring it. Hence ambition is devoted to prerogative in monarchy, and to the publick good, or to the ruling passion in republicks. Thus ambition, the motive power of all governments, is so chastened in yours, that an enlightened intelligence of your own interests steadily pursued, will give in practice, as in theory, indubitable excellence to your constitutions above every other. But like others, it is exposed to the irregular action of party.

A federative system of sovereign states naturally tending to anarchy among themselves produces occasions for party-conflict peculiar to their confederacy. Yet while their true interest is most surely obtained by the union of all; the only remaining subject of contest—possession of the brief authority of ruling under the constitution, can hardly endanger the duration of that constitution; because the disappointment of to day is ever cheered with the hope of success to-morrow. Power cannot always rest in any one section. Jealousy will supply a motive to opposition, should no other exist, which will forever give to power in our nation, a perambulatory character, that will preclude the acquisition of a destructive influence by any one state, and cherish the hope of possessing power in almost every other. There is therefore a sufficient counterpoise to regulate this otherwise alarming tendency of the states to anarchy among themselves.

Here yielding to the feelings of habitual respect and

veneration for our mother country, a recollection of our origin, the inestimable gift of laws, and the light of science we have received at her hands, would forbid a further comparison. But is it not time for Americans to respect themselves? Shall we longer ascribe to France or England a superiority which policy as well as truth invokes us to claim for ourselves? They are indeed preeminent in science, in arts, in literature and in refinement: their copious streams have overflowed and every where enriched our country. Identity of language and similitude of habits and manners, has facilitated a wider diffusion among us of the inventions, learning and taste of England, and we have naturally awarded to her the most exalted rank as a nation. Yet while we yield to her the admired results of superabundance of wealth and excess of population, may we not rejoice in our exemption from the luxury and the misery, that these entail on their possessors. America is perhaps too necessitous to give her time to every branch of speculative science, or the productions of refined literature. But in practical science what nation excels the ingenuity and boldness of her artists? Confessedly equal in naval architecture, inferior to none in the facilities of commercial transportation, surpassing all in the variety and value of our agricultural productions, rivalling even the workshops of Europe with the product of machinery, may we not be permitted to assume that it is the application of science to useful purpose which constitutes its value. If too we must allow superiority in literature and taste; is it not some assurance of our future eminence that her best authors are, at least, as generally studied here as in England; that

some of the most eminent painters, whose pencils have emblazoned the name of England with a glory, are natives of America.

Inferior as we may be in science, have not Americans yet reason to be proud of their country? Greater freedom in political institutions, superior intelligence among the community, a state of morals, paradoxical as it may seem, progressively improving with the means of luxury; a religion without superstition, without hypocrisy, and without state influence, exhibiting here the strongest proof of its authenticity, by effecting its own progress without the excitement of intolerance, or the political aid of government; a jurisprudence equalled only in one nation, an administration of justice surpassing all others; A government whose spring and balance are the people's interest; a rank and respectability among nations won by the valour of your arms and the chivalrous spirit of your navy; these are your rich possessions: and forever honoured be the memory of the illustrious men, whose spirit, wisdom, and resolution have secured for us these unequalled blessings.

The lofty virtues of your ancestors rise, like the brilliant summits of your mountains as your age recedes. Like these their foundations were laid in secret. In the recesses of domestick retirement they instructed their offspring of Providence, traced their being, preservation and enjoyments to his throne, and fixed an habitual consciousness of dependence. The interesting relation of parent and protector was associated with this; and each felt an interest in the whole of their community as members of the same family. Publick spirit could

not fail to unite such a people when danger lowered on their land. The evils of intolerance had finally given them the spirit of moderation. The privations of the wilderness, in the cause of religion, had taught them patience in suffering ; their wonderful preservation and success had filled them with habitual confidence, that while the principles of justice, and a familiar sense of duty, should continue to guide their conduct, all perplexity and danger would issue in their happiness.

An early reference to these principles, and the obligations they impose, imbued every mind with just conceptions of the rights of man ; and established manners breathing a manly respect to the feelings of equals, and a profound deference for age and superior wisdom. Hence a spirit of subordination supplied the place of government, and precluded the possibility of anarchy even when government was dissolved in revolution. Such prompt feelings of publick spirit, such refined principles of justice and right, could not be indifferent to the wrongs of any individual. Oppression kindled at once a common indignation. The frugality and simple manners of the times could interpose no temporising policy. No calculations of interest or fear of loss for a moment arrested the course of their zeal. No earthly consideration could restrain it. And when at last, the war burst upon your hills, the spirit of your fathers spread, with the rapidity of lightning, through the land.

Through what various accidents, toils, and perils they achieved the liberation of your country, and established its Independence, many who now fill your posts

of honour and the most respectable stations in private life, have too eloquently depicted from this place, to leave a single touch to be added. The views which they have presented, to their admiring townsmen, of the wisdom, publick spirit and valour of the statesmen and warriors, who conducted the revolution, will never be indifferent to Bostonians, and are too fresh in recollection, now to need an exhibition.

Wisely was it ordered, by the venerable men, who participated in those mighty efforts, that the anniversary of Independence, should be hallowed, by the recollection of the virtues, that produced it. To you, fathers, and to you, whom nature gives to feel a deeper interest in your offspring, how dear is the wish, that the feelings and principles, which have surrounded you with an extent of happiness, that the sun does not smile upon elsewhere in his course, should be transmitted with equal blessings to your children! It is yours to transmit them. The early impressions they receive from a mother's lips, of the high and sacred importance of truth, the necessity of justice and honour, and the gracefulness of generosity and chastened courage will prepare them for defenders of their country, in the senate or the field; or to pursue respectably the happier vocations of private life. It is thus you may infuse somewhat of the purity of your own into the character of your nation.

If there be any one who does not feel the importance of this character, let him remember the days, when European powers, fighting desperately for conquest, or existence, all trampled on our rights, as if they believed we had not the spirit of a worm to turn, when

trod upon ; with what shame and confusion our countrymen were humiliated abroad, with what sense of inferiority we were degraded at home. Now, by the skill and prowess of a few, a fortuitous concurrence of circumstances has given security to our commerce. Our stars are borne in triumph to every quarter of the globe. Abroad how honoured and respected is our name, how raised and exalted our opinions at home ! None is so humble among us but participates in the pride, which now swells through the nation. This is no vain, useless pride ; it is the overflowing of mutual confidence, from an abundant assurance that the spirit of our country can be equal to its emergencies.

The recent and auspicious display of our national character, attracts your attention to the means of cherishing and exalting it. National pride, which is sometimes confounded with national character, rather indicates its real value. Thus the pride of ancestry, in the Greek and Italian, betrays a total want of the boasted qualities that made their ancestors the prodigy, and the masters of the world. It is a label fastened about their necks to mark their disgraceful declension. As little do we envy the infatuated pride, that glories in ceaseless victories ; which only impose the necessity of new conscriptions of men, new privations, and, ultimately, bring conquest and subjugation upon the victors. A well proportioned pride in science, in arts, and in arms, Americans will every where respect ; but an arrogant exclusive pride, who can admire ? Does it not sometimes indicate an incapacity for higher efforts, a hopelessness of more exalted attainments ? The objects of our pride may, by the vain glorious, be

deemed humble : they are unequalled domestick happiness in peace, and sufficient power to defend our rights in war. Humble as they are, on comparison with other nations, our hearts would rise in exultation did we not from education understand and acknowledge, that our felicity, like the fruit of Eden, is the production of Providence—our highest merit enjoyment with gratitude, and use with obedience.

In adverting to religion, as a means of national character, it is interesting to observe, that religion, in every nation, has been co-eval with its origin and prosperity. While the favour of the Gods was devoutly propitiated among the antients, their national enthusiasm was wrought to the highest pitch of personal sacrifice. Their devotion gave them higher motives than wealth or power : their heroes aspired to rank with gods or be immortal in the sculptured marble. Among the Greeks, religion was degraded by attributes of inconstancy and selfish passions : among the Romans, it was exalted by ascription of favour to publick virtue. Accordingly the Grecian heroes are often seen arrayed in arms against their own country : the heroes of Rome, never, save in the instance of Coriolanus. Themistocles and Alcibiades were restored to favour and power : Coriolanus, never forgiven, perished miserably. Not less distinct is the the influence of state and free religion in modern times. The former is sometimes cloaked with hypocrisy, too often a pageant of ceremony, that lives only in the publick eye : the latter is sincere, seeks no parade, dwells only in the heart. How influential this, on your national character, is manifest in the moderation it every where imposes on passion.

Another means of exalting this character claims your attention. Intermingled with other nations in the competitions of commerce, whose doubtful rights are destined to serve as pretexts for future animosities, you must be prepared to surrender your trade, your property, and homes; or you must prepare for war. You have learned, that it is not on a supply of arms or ammunitions of war, nor even the mechanical discipline of exercise and manoeuvres, that your country can rely for defence. What though community of danger may rally all to the field, will not a sense of greater danger drive them in panick to their homes. The valour of freemen, of fathers, brothers, and husbands in arms must not depend on sense of danger. Arms and the art of war, and the incentive of danger will avail nothing without that publick spirit, which delights to offer, and that publick gratitude, which is ever prompt to reward the sacrifice of personal interest for publick good. It was to this, that Washington exhorted you, in urging preparations for war. None better knew than he the insufficiency of arms without spirit, how dreadful the alarm of unexpected invasion, nor how certain it would never be attempted if steady well bred valour and publick spirit, fearless of fate, should defend the soil. Do we fail in publick spirit: let not a chilly selfishness, that dreads some burthen on itself, forbid the effort of reform. Let not escape from the past deceive us with flattering hopes for the future.

Your means of *knowledge* are indeed liberally provided. The expansion of mental faculties is fully appreciated where the obligation of some intelligence in politics and just discrimination of character is imposed on all. Mind is indeed regarded as power. But it

is power, be it remembered, in the hands of ruling passion. This forms a nation for war or peace, or for a brave and generous policy, that fears not the first, nor loves the last too well. If our ruling passion give us cause for regret, may we not find an excuse in the concurrence of circumstances, which succeeded the revolutionary war? Sacrifices and losses had impoverished the whole country, and a laudable desire of competency was excited by numerous opportunities of speculation into a ruling passion for gain. Though this has not yet degenerated to hoarding avarice, we have seen its degrading influence. We have seen private interest among the people determine the policy of the nation. How could this fail to produce a mean hypocritical economy in government? Accordingly, we have seen a system of the wisest forecast, designed by the framers of our constitution for national honour, and indispensable to security, abandoned in the name of economy; then resumed with extravagance at a moment of peril and alarm; which that very system would have forever prevented. Reiterated instances like these will make posterity wise enough to ascribe war to want of publick spirit. And shall we, who have felt this truth, longer delay to implant it in the bosoms of youth? The means are at hand.

Your publick schools, though suggested by the antients, yet want incitement to the liberal feelings and passions, which made the Greeks, near two thousand years after their fall, the admired models of the world in taste, in eloquence and publick virtue. Let a portion of the superabundant time now devoted to the first rudiments of learning, in our common schools, be ap-

propriated to the story of illustrious character, in antiquity, exhibiting to your children its energy, heroick devotion to the interests of its country; its contempt of wealth and aspiration after honourable fame; its valour and courage. These ably pourtrayed to the minds of youth, could not fail to cherish disinterested, generous feelings, and raise a higher standard and more exalted admiration of honourable character. The achievements of contemporaries would be better appreciated and rewarded. Reanimated sculpture would breathe into marble the admired forms of your warriors and statesmen; and posterity would not have to deplete that worse than apathy, that has left for fifteen years the remains of the greatest among the great, without a stone to tell where he lies!

What greater incitement to public virtue can be mentioned than disinterested honour rendered to the manes of eminent and illustrious character. Who can read the story of his life, and not feel that human nature is improved by the example? You have among you an honourable association for erecting a statue to WASHINGTON. Over their grateful and unremitted efforts presides one of his beloved and confidential associates—one among the last of his personal friends that now remain to us; and is it not time to meet with corresponding emotions these disinterested efforts, in whose result all are equally concerned? Surely the period is at hand when we shall rear at once this monument of gratitude, as a daily lesson to our children; that the ambition which aspires only to be most eminently useful, is most sincerely honoured.

Need the inference be urged that, with such a publick spirit, our parties, however divided against each other,

would never hazard the publick good. A rapid sketch of the influence of party on national character and prosperity will conclude these remarks, already protracted it is feared, beyond the bearing of your patience.

Parties are the soul of free government. Consider the slavish apathy that would prepare you for tyrannical subjugation, if no feelings nor passions, like watchful centries, challenged the incursions of power. The due regulation and direction of these is scarcely less important than their existence. You have erected interest in your constitutions as a standard of right and wrong. Private interest may be allowed to influence, where isolated measures draw after them no extensive consequences. But on questions expanding beyond the circle of self, and the present moment, our feelings and passions should be conducted to an eminence overlooking the whole country, and be shewn there the operation of measures on the welfare of all. The mind necessarily carried out of its own little circle for a while, is convinced that the security and happiness which are thus made to surround it on every side, are the strongest barriers of its own private interest. The conviction kindles a sympathetic concern for the remotest borderer or seaman on the ocean. An unrepelled outrage upon either is felt to diminish the security of all : for if no sympathy extends succour to him, who is most exposed and first attacked, no passion will be roused till the injury has every where struck its blow. Then passion will be without power to resent, and prey upon its own vitals.

The grand interest of a nation, like the happiness of an individual, is made up of numerous little interests

and pleasures. The diminution of any one of these does not sensibly abridge our happiness; but if the heedless loss of one may superinduce the loss of another and another; how vigilantly we guard the least! No less is a single minor interest of a nation the object of scrupulous honour, than is the slightest imputation on integrity in private life. The feelings of sympathy then for every individual within our borders, and the passion of scrupulous honour towards every people without, should regulate and direct our parties.

But in what clime is not the imperfection of our nature deplored! Parties are opposed to each other either in principle or interest; commonly in both. As principle predominates in a party; its policy towards foreign nations is ingenuous; its aspect firm and dauntless. Foreign cabinets sustaining the relations of competition or conflicting interests, are careful to ascertain how far personal views sway the predominant party of a country; and accordingly, when private interest prevails adapt their measures to a yielding temporizing policy, which ever marks the compromise between a nation's true honour and a selfish party's interest. The motives then of predominant party stamp the character of a nation in the estimate of foreign powers.

To appreciate the effect of this, let us glance without partiality or imputation at the short history of our government. In this moment of auspicious calm, when the peace of the world has left passion to subside, perhaps we may perceive that our interest requires us to make it for the advantage of party to be guided rather by principle than by personal views.

When our first President was elected, the satisfaction that almost universally prevailed, restrained the malice that jealousy of his power and ascendancy, during the revolutionary war, had excited. Opposition to his system of measures came of course; but operated covertly till an occasion offered of appealing to some passion generally predominant. This was unfortunately the passion for gain, just then assuming a characteristic influence under the garb of economy. The question of funding the national debt gave occasion to the first systematick opposition in Congress to the administration of Washington. There was something popular, and perhaps plausible, in the objection to the funding system that speculators rather, than war-worn soldiers, would be benefited by the fulfilment of the promises made to these. But there was much more principle in the argument, that publick faith was the basis of publick credit; and that without this no administration could command the resources of the country. The people only fearing the levy of taxes, and without experience to instruct them, did not understand that men, who undervalue publick faith in argument, might soon disregard it in practice; neither could they anticipate that loss of credit, at a moment of emergency, would more than double the expense of sudden preparation for war. The excitation of a first difference naturally flamed to a alarming height, and attracted the attention of the whole community. Individuals presently arranged themselves on one or the other side as accident, interest, or argument influenced. Men of character and tried patriotism were found on both sides. An ardent incitement prepared the publick mind for the enthusi-

asm, which appeals to the ruling passion, were about to inflame. The determination of Washington, to retire seemed to leave the field more free. His retirement was the signal for unrestrained conflict to begin. The onset was furious, the resistance manly and resolute. Unfounded imputations of intention to give an unconstitutional energy to government were supported by reference to measures for establishing an army and navy, whose necessity and expediency could not be understood by all the people without more practical knowledge of the course of nations with each other, than the majority of the people at that time possessed.

Ignorance is ever ready to be jealous of superior intelligence, vested with power. The complicated relations of England with European nations furnished no standard for American policy, and the people had relied almost with implicit confidence on the counsels of Washington. When therefore he had withdrawn, no standard of general policy seemed to remain. Arguments addressed to individual interest were vainly opposed by appeals to principle. Vain were the determined efforts to resist this torrent of jealousy and impassioned economy. Their triumph seemed, in the opinion of many wise and learned statesmen, to jeopard the durability of the constitution. Mutual excitement presently identified in the opinion of all, the success of party with the interests of the country. The conflict was renewed and pursued; with what acerbity let it be remembered only to be avoided. It endured till the late fortunate pacification seemed to grant an amnesty to both. The achievements of each are enrolled with the history of

their country, and the passions that tossed them have subsided for ever. It is therefore permitted, on this day, consecrated to the nation and set aside from party, to trace out the consequences affecting our national character and prosperity ; which have arisen from this conflict.

The party prevailing by appeals to the dominant passion, and the jealousy of the people were, of course, obliged to gratify that passion with office and emolument on the one hand ; and with the exhibition of rigid economy on the other. The preparations for defence which Washington had enjoined, and the whole nation now approve, were of course deemed unnecessary.

A jealousy of state influence, excited by the avowed ambition of one state, was fostered by the unavoidable appearance of favouritism. Imputations of selfish state purposes naturally followed, and were returned with the aggravated imputation of traitorous subserviency to England. Wishes for the success of the cause of that country warmly expressed, by one party in New-England, from just views of the interests at first, of Europe, afterwards of this country, furnish all the grounds of this crimination. It was natural to hurl back the re-primination of partiality to France. These powers could not but believe in the existance of such parties in their favour. England adapted her policy to this belief, and the defenceless state of our country with a fatal sagacity. Her example was followed by almost every other power in Europe, till almost every nation that could fire a gun had plundered your commerce.

Where are now the proofs of subserviency to Eng-

land? How idle the imputation that the most intelligent portion of the union should be willing to sunder that union, which even inferior men discerned, and discerned truly, to be more essential to the prosperity of New-England than of any other section of the country. Nay, that the sons of New-England should surrender their liberties to a nation, whom their fathers had been the first to oppose at the hazard of their lives and property. England ere long discovered the error into which she had been drawn, by these unfounded imputations; and this discovery, it is well known, put end to the war.

How momentous the establishment and maintenance of honourable national character needs no further illustration. Arms may establish for a while, but publick spirit only can maintain it. This must emanate from New-England, because she alone has wrongs to pardon and forget.

A new state of things is now rising out of the chaos of the political world, and no one can predict the concern our nation may be obliged to take in it. Let us leave, while we can, the affairs of Europe to themselves; we have happily lived to see the destroyer of nations conducted to his lonely isle. There from some rude, craggy cliff let him gaze on the restless ocean as an emblem of his own tumultuous bosom, till the world, in pity for his deep despair and tottering reason, shall forgive his crimes.

Our concern is with ourselves: the political calm which gives repose to party doubtless presages a new eruption. Its lava may separate old friends, and bring together old enemies. Your Vesuvius is in the mountains of the west. That section of the country, after the

next census, will send a larger delegation to Congress than any other. The love of power will grow with the means of acquiring it. Already the dread of losing it has excited a jealousy of the western states in the antient dominion as they denominate Virginia. But the warlike and adventurous habits of the west, the peculiar relations they sustain with their neighbour in the south, seem to indicate that, for the present, they are not the best depositories of power.

Should this new conflict arise, the probable expediency in this event of the co-operation of New-England with other states, invokes a steady perseverance in those sound principles, which Washington bequeathed us : for nothing but regard to general interest can unite states of such various habits and views. Let New-England be steady to her peculiar interests, if she have them ; but let her extend an equal regard to other sections of the country. Let her suspend her partialities, if she feel them however well-founded in superior morals and manners. Her wisdom will then be listened to with increased respect by all.

If in this hasty view of the rise and progress of a nation, born to the highest destinies, we have reperused the story of our ancestors with fresh interest in their virtues ; if the independence these produced has been blessed with a more rational felicity than the sun shines upon elsewhere in his course ; if we have reason to be proud of our country and its constitutions of government ; if we find in the past some assurance of higher, purer publick spirit for the future ; if we feel an extended benevolence rising towards our country ; then let the memory of our ancestors be annually recalled,

with pious gratitude. Let this anniversary be the political sabbath of parties when they shall recur to the first principles of publick virtue, so eminently exemplified in the father of his country. Then, may we not hope that the happiness of our nation, both publick and private shall be unequalled, but by its Fame.







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